revolutionary propaganda in the army and to start at once to prepare for an armed revolt, the decisive battle against moribund despotism.

Again I went from factory to factory, explaining the resolution, urging workers to go back to their jobs, trying to bolster their courage. For the first time, I was speaking out of loyalty to the Soviet and the party rather than from personal conviction. I was exhausted from the endless speeches, and it seemed to me the crowds that shouted approval were equally tired and disillusioned.

The moderate and conservative newspapers were right in holding that the November strike was a defeat of the workers and a victory for the government, but they were wrong in blaming the Soviet and revolutionary parties for having instigated the walkout. They were also unfair in reproaching them for their attempt to involve the armed forces in politics. The army had been in the midst of the conflict since October; indeed, the political struggle had long since developed into a contest for control over the army. The anti-labor slant in the press during and after the November strike caused bitter resentment among the workers. They felt more isolated than ever.

THE STALEMATE

The iron and steel mills, shipyards, and munitions factories owned or operated by the government remained shut after the strike. Many private plants also were closed because of cancellation of military orders when the war with Japan ended. The police and military patrols reappeared in industrial precincts. Employers were ordered to put an end to factory meetings.

On November 9, without consulting the Soviet, the workers of a leading plant in the Neva precinct issued an appeal to all St. Petersburg workers to declare a general strike against the lockouts. I went to the factory, talked to the leaders and rank-and-file workers, and learned that this was an act of despair and collective hysteria.

The Soviet convened on November 12. The main items on the agenda were lockouts, rising unemployment, and the continuing campaign for the eight-hour day and higher wage rates. A woman worker from a cotton mill kindled enthusiasm in the audience by appealing passionately to the men to fight to full victory or death. "All of you," she explained, "are accustomed to a soft life! You are afraid of the hardships of struggle and the threat of a lockout. But we women are tired of our present life and prefer death to slavery!" Yet the reports of the delegates were discouraging. The workers were at an impasse, losing confidence in themselves and in the So-